

LAND OWNERSHIP AND ITS SOCIO-ECONOMIC
IMPLICATIONS IN PARIT RAJA
(A COMPARATIVE STUDY OF MALAY AND CHINESE)

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LATIHAN UNTUK MEMENUHI SEBAHAGIAN DARIPADA
SYARAT-SYARAT UNTUK IJAZAH SARJANA MUDA

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SYNOPSIS

Tujuan kajian ini adalah untuk mengkaji tentang tanah dan implikasi socio-ekonominya terhadap penduduk-penduduk di Parit Raja.

Bab pertama adalah bab pengenalan dan tujuan-tujuan kajian ini serta masalah-masalah yang dihadapi dalam masa menjalani kajian ini.

Bab dua pula adalah dikhaskan pada topik tanah. Dalam bab ini, didapati bahawa ramai petani-petani Melayu mempunyai tanah yang kecil manakala orang Cina pula mempunyai tanah-tanah yang lebih luas.

Sebilangan besar daripada orang Cina adalah terlibat dalam pekerjaan yang bukan pertanian manakala sebahagian besar daripada orang Melayu pula terlibat dalam bahagian pertanian. Namun demikian, orang-orang Melayu mengalami satu penyisiran pemilikan yang lebih rata. Dikalang orang Cina cuma sebilangan kecil yang memiliki tanah.

Bab tiga pula cuba membincangkan secara umum aktiviti-aktiviti pertanian penduduk-penduduk Parit Raja. Aktiviti-aktiviti pertanian mereka adalah termasuk getah, kelapa-sawit, kopi dan kelapa.

Bab empat pula mengalurkan implikasi socio-ekonomi. Dalam kajian didapati bahawa, mereka yang berkerja disektor bukan pertanian seperti guru, peniaga, buruh, dll. menikmati gaji yang lebih tinggi daripada

mereka dari bahagian pertanian.

Bab penghabisan pula cuba mencadangkan beberapa cadangan yang agak dapat menyelesaikan masalah-masalah yang dihadapi oleh petani-petani di Parit Raja seperti tanah-tanah yang terlalu kecil, pemecahan tanah dll.

Acknowledgement

I wish to express my gratitude to Mr Syed Hussain Ali who has guided me throughout this study.

I wish also to thank my friend, Mr Ismail bin Ismail who has spent much of his precious time in checking my language.

I also wish to thank my father, cousin, friends and the inhabitants of Parit Raja for their co-operation.

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for development and progress. "..... there is nothing more important to any nation than land on which that nation finds its very existence. The people come and go following the law of nature, but the land remains, shaped and reshaped by the process of nature and the activities of man themselves." (1)

In most present day developing countries, the agricultural sector of the economy is seen as an important determinant of economic growth. In this context, the presence of good arable land is of advantage to a nation embarking on a process of development.

Thus, land is very important to most nations, either for agricultural, residential or industrial purposes. However, land is much more important to agricultural countries like Malaysia, Indonesia and Thailand.

(1) Every Inch of Land - Tun Haji Abdul Razak

Chapter 1

Introduction

Land has been categorised as one of the fundamental natural resources for development and progress. "..... there is nothing more important to any nation than land on which that nation finds its very existence. The people come and go following the law of nature, but the land remains, shaped and reshaped by the process of nature and the activities of men themselves." (1)

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(1) Every Inch of Land - Tun Haji Abdul Razak

Hence the indispensability of land to Parit Raja is clear as it is an agrarian community. The Parit Raja community depends on land. The usage of land which is predominantly agricultural has been interwoven in the economic and social activities of Parit Raja since its inception. Almost 80% of the working population of Parit Raja is employed directly or indirectly in agriculture. Commercial activities are also closely connected with agriculture. Therefore, it is not surprising that agricultural produce constitutes the main source of income for this community.

Aims of study

This study is concerned with two major related themes:

- (a) Patterns of land ownership among the inhabitants of Parit Raja.
- (b) The social and economic implications arising therefrom.

There is a difference in land ownership between the Chinese and Malays. Generally, the Malays possess smaller holdings and the Chinese on the other hand possess larger holdings. Relatively speaking, most of the land in terms of total acreage in the community is owned by the Malays.

In this study I am also interested in the phenomenon of man-land relationship in Parit Raja. Land has been considered the main determining factor which enables the survival of agricultural communities. Thus a close man-land relationship would indicate the importance of land to the inhabitants. On the other hand, a weak relationship would mean the contrary.

The situation in Parit Raja points to the former relationship. Ironically, this strong bond is fast diminishing as more and more of the inhabitants become educated and subsequently enter into the professions and government employment. For the less educated and the unfortunate ones, working in the farms prove to be less lucrative when compared to the good wages they can earn in the building industry of Singapore.

The agrarian structure in most developing countries witnesses the concentration of land ownership in the hands of a few. However, such an agrarian structure mainly applies to the Chinese in Parit Raja. The Malays enjoy a more even distribution of land ownership.

Finally, this study also attempts to enumerate the social and economic implications arising from these patterns of land ownership.

Place of Study

The area covered by this study is Parit Raja. It is one of the administrative districts of Batu Pahat, Johore, situated along the west coast of Peninsular Malaysia. It lies more or less in the west-central part of Johore State.

The district has a good road system. Chinese and Malay businessmen occupied both sides of the main trunk road known as Jalan Klung. The villagers are occupied both sides of the secondary road, adjacent to the main road.

The village is chosen because of my familiarity with it apart from being one of the most progressive villages in the sub-district of Batu Pahat. Although the village where I was born (Parit Jelutong) is three miles from the village studied, there are a number of people in the village who are related to me like my father and cousins. Those not related are my former classmates. For this reason, I often made regular visits to the village especially during my childhood and thus I am rather familiar with the general background of the community there.

Sample and Methods of Study

A total of 100 households in Parit Raja was included in the survey; 50 Chinese households and another 50 Malay households surveyed. All the respondents were heads of households. The number of persons living in each household varies. As for the Malays, they range from five to eight for the older families and one to three for the younger. Chinese household members, however, range from five to six at the minimum as most of them stay together with their parents after their marriage. At one extreme, there is a typical extended family with five families (five married brothers) under the same roof. Such feature is not uncommon in Parit Raja's Chinese households.

The method of this study is a combination of the anthropological method of participant-observation and the sociological method of interviews and questionnaires. One month was spent for this research.

House-to-house visit was made in order to conduct informal interviews (schedule method) with heads of households. The aim of these interviews was to find out possession of land among the people, their incomes, education, job opportunities, etc. All heads of households were specially interviewed for this purpose. His clients who regularly frequent the shop provided very useful information. One particular client (a Chinese middle-Questionnaires were used to interview the respondents. These information questionnaires served as a guide to the researcher in getting the essential data.

In addition, a close associate of the researcher also provided invaluable. These interviews would normally lapse into casual conversations, and more so if the respondent is gregarious, a significant portion of the village information relating to land, agriculture and other matters can be gathered. It is a common feature in this village, where so and so knows so and so and so. Surprisingly, at times in details and accuracy, truthful and accurate information. Most of the household heads provided. In order to secure full co-operation from the villagers, the researcher normally identify himself as the son of so-and-so because most of the villagers are acquainted with the researcher's father who operates a provision shop in the village. very willing to reply to questions concerning income, land owned and they reply in a rather taciturn manner. Their. One particular instance which surprised the researcher was an interview with a widower. He was very unco-operative. Sensing the difficulty, the researcher quickly relate to him that he is the son of so-and-so. Quite instantly, he responded to the researcher's questions and started to relate to the researcher that his father and infact his late grandfather knew the researcher's father.

In fact the conversation was so interesting that his sister joined in.

Another source of information is through the researcher's father who is rather familiar with almost all the inhabitants of Parit Raja, especially the Chinese. Apart from this, his clients who regularly frequent the shop provided very useful information. One particular client (a Chinese middleman) helped the researcher a great deal. Through him, certain information was made clearer, example, the shortcomings of F.A.M.A.

In addition, a close classmate of the researcher also provided innumerable information concerning the Chinese community.

Research Problems

One of the problems in carrying out this research is getting correct, truthful and accurate information. Most of the household heads provided vague answers. For example, some owned six acres of rubber land, but when interviewed, they gave a smaller number.

Most of the Chinese were not very willing to reply to questions concerning income, land owned and they reply in a rather taciturn manner. Their monthly incomes were very difficult to obtain accurately as they varies from month to month. However, in this matter, the researcher used his own discretion.

Another problem is that the villagers were rather suspicious of the researcher. What more, when his research concerned personal properties and incomes. It normally takes the researcher some time to explain the fact that this research was for fulfilling his academic requirements and that he is not a government official. The researcher came across an incident in the course of his survey. The head of the house who was being interviewed was reminded by a friend that the researcher might be an official of the Income Tax Department. Of course he spoke in Javanese assuming the fact that the researcher does not understand Javanese. But to their dismay, the researcher quickly replied that he was only a student. He told his friend to withhold information on all his assets so as to avoid being taxed. Due to the fact that the researcher is a Chinese, it is not possible to grasp the whole conversation, but that little bit enabled the researcher to rectify the situation instantly.

The limitation concerning the accuracy of information supplied by the interviewers is reduced to a minimum where counter checks to these information are available. For example, through the researcher's father and other villagers. But there are certain information where there is no possibilities to verify its truth. Such, for example, their incomes. In such matters, I use my personal judgement to assess the accuracy of information given.

There is also the problem of meeting the respondents. When the research was carried out, most of the heads of houses were not in.

They were either tapping rubber trees or tilling the fields. As for the Chinese, this is not much a problem as most of them are businessmen and thus were available most of the time.

Occasionally, transport proved to be a great difficulty. At times, when I intended to interview farmers who lived quite distant from the town, I had to cycle two to three miles. This difficulty proved to be considerable when it happened to rain. There was one instance when my bicycle was stuck in the mud.

However, this study recognizes ownership in its de facto sense, that is ownership in so far as the means of the acquisition of the land as sanctioned by the cultural institutions of the people, be it through purchase, inheritance or gift.

In this chapter the main emphasis would be land ownership patterns. Land is being emphasized in view of the fact that land determines economic activities and is also the most productive possession the inhabitants of this community possess.

(3) Wagdy A. Aziz, Subdivision of Estates in Egypt, 1951 - 1960, Vol. 1, pg. 11 (1962)

Chapter 2

Land

Professor Ungku Aziz defines a holding as comprising "all the land owned

by one person. It is a unit of ownership." (2) It appears that the criterion of the key-concept of ownership in this definition is taken to be the entry of name of the holder of the land in the document or title of ownership. In other words, ownership as implied here is in its *de jure* sense. However, this study recognises ownership in its *de facto* sense, that is ownership in so far as the means of the acquisition of the land as sanctioned by the cultural institutions of the people, be it through purchase, inheritance or gift.

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(2) Ungku A. Aziz, Subdivision of Estates in Malaya, 1951 - 1960, Vol. 1, pg. 11 (1962)

Total	50	100%	50	100%
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Distribution of land ownership

Distribution of land ownership in this categorisation includes all types of land, whether it is rubber land, coffee land, coconut land or others.

Table 1

Distribution of land ownership among 100 heads of households in Parit Raja

Malay			Chinese	
Acres	No of owners	Percentage	No of owners	Percentage
0	10	20%	33	64%
0.1 - 1	3	6%	0	0%
0.1 - 2	8	16%	0	0%
2.1 - 4	9	18%	1	2%
4.1 - 7	10	20%	5	10%
7.1 - 10	5	10%	3	6%
10.1 - 15	2	4%	6	12%
15.1 - 20	3	6%	1	2%
20.1 - 25	0	0%	0	0%
25.1 and above	0	0%	1	2%
Total	50	100%	50	100%

The above table shows that 64% of the Chinese included in the survey does not possess any land at all as compared to 20% of the Malays who do not own any land. As stated in chapter one, the reason is that most Chinese are businessmen and thus land is not very important to them. Other reason being the difficulty of supervising hired people working on their land. This normally leads to malpractices on the part of the hired labourers and thus little profit and in some cases losses. Hence the Chinese businessmen prefer other investments like buying houses in Batu Pahat and buying shares. Another reason is that they are poor and lack the means to acquire any form of property.

(b) They are government servants especially teachers who
As for the Malays, the landless are relatively few, that is, 20% as compared to 80% of them who own land. The Chinese land-owners constitutes 36% as compared to 64% of them who do not own any land.

The percentage of Malay landowners are higher than that of the Chinese because the Malays are farmers and thus land is of great asset and value to them. Out of the 50 Malay households, 58% of them are engaged primarily in agriculture as compared to only 14% on the part of the Chinese who are engaged primarily in agriculture. This shows the importance of land to the Malays as compared to the Chinese. As compared to the Chinese who constitutes 16%. Hence it can be concluded that although the Chinese constitute the majority of those who are landless but those who own land have larger holdings as compared to the Malays.

In addition, most of the Malays' forefathers are farmers and thus they inherit these land. Out of the 29 Malays who are engaged primarily in agriculture, 17 of them or 58.6% of them own their land through inheritance.

However, three possible reasons can be attributed in general why some do not own any land at all.

(a) They are young couples who lack the necessary means one can acquire land to buy land.

(b) They are government servants especially teachers who just stay and serve in the community.

(c) They are poor and thus unable to purchase any land.

From Table 1, it is also clear that Chinese holdings are larger than Malay holdings. In the 10.1 - 15 acres bracket, the Chinese constitute 12% while the Malays constitute 4%. In the 25.1 and above acres bracket, the Malays constitute nil while the Chinese constitute 2%. Taken as a whole starting from 10.1 acres to 25.1 acres and above, it shows a distinct contrast between the Malay who constitute 10% as compared to the Chinese who constitute 16%. Hence it can be concluded that although the Chinese constitute the majority of those who are landless but those who own land have larger holdings as compared to the Malays.

In addition, the Malays enjoy a more even distribution of land ownership as compared to the Chinese. The land ownership pattern among the Chinese tend to be concentrated in a relatively small number of persons.

Ways of owning land income level (businessmen) as compared to the Malays who are mainly farmers or labourers.

To an agricultural community like Parit Raja, land is an indispensable asset to the inhabitants. There are several ways by which one can acquire land in this community.

- Inheritance is another method through which one can own land. This
1. Buying of acquiring land is normally restricted to one's own family. However there are cases where inheritance have taken place outside
- With the introduction of money as a medium of exchange, buying and selling of land has been a common feature in most societies. This method of acquiring land can be considered to be universal. Anyone who has the necessary sum of money can purchase land in this community if there are sellers. As it is a common feature in most Societies, human beings can be classified at the extreme generally as rich and poor. Land ownership normally tends to concentrate in the hands of the few rich people. Therefore the poor people find it difficult to compete with them as they lack the means and hence they lag further behind in property acquisition. Colonial rule. The Malays termed this way of owning land as "pemeroka". By this way, it seems that the number of acres a person can clear for agricultural purposes will automatically belongs to - 13 -

Most of the Chinese in Parit Raja own land through purchase, that is, 47% as compared to 27.5% of the Malays who own land through this method. One general presumption can be assumed in this context is that the Chinese have the means to purchase land. This is due mainly to their higher income level (businessmen) as compared to the Malays who are mainly farmers or labourers.

2. Inheritance

Inheritance is another method through which one can own land. This method of acquiring land is normally restricted to one's own family. However there are cases where inheritance have taken place outside the family circle. The majority of the Malays in Parit Raja own land through this method. A significant number of the Chinese also own land in this way. 45% of the Malays own land by this method as compared to 29.4% of the Chinese.

3. By Application to the Government

If a person does not own any land, he can apply to the government. This method is common in Parit Raja after the Japanese Occupation and after independence from the Colonial rule. The Malays termed this way of owning land as "meneroka". By this way, it means that the number of acres a person can clear for agricultural purpose will automatically belongs to him.

There are only two Malays who own land by this way. They are 70 years old and above at the time of survey.

	Methods	No. of persons	Percentage	No. of acres	Percentage
4.	<u>Gifts</u>				
1.	Buying	0	0%	0	0%
2.	Owning land through this method is not common. There is not a case among the 100 respondents. By this method it simply means one is given land as a gift from someone, either within the family or outside the family circle.				
	Total	17	100%	225.9	100%

Table 2

Methods of acquiring land among the 100 respondents

Malay				
Methods	No. of persons	Percentage	No. of acres	Percentage
1. Buying	11	27.5%	70.4	31.1%
2. Inheritance	18	45%	59	23%
3. Inheritance & Buying	8	20%	77.5	30.2%
4. "Moneroka"	3	7.5%	19	8.7%
Total	40	100%	225.9	100%

One of the main reasons is that the forefathers of the Malays were farmers and hence their children inherit these lands.

Table 2 (Contd.)

Chinese					
	Methods	No of persons	Percentage	No of acres	Percentage
1.	Buying	8	47%	75	39.3%
2.	Inheritance	5	29.4%	47	24.6%
3.	Inheritance & Buying	4	23.5%	68.5	35.9%
4.	"Heneroka"	0	0	0	0
	Total	17	100%	190.5	100%

Table 2 shows that a significant number of Chinese own land through purchase. 47% of them owned land through purchase as compared to 29.4% and 23.5% for inheritance and inheritance and buying respectively.

On the other hand, a high percentage of the Malays own land through inheritance. 45% of them owned land through inheritance as compared to 27.5% and 20.5% through purchase and inheritance/buying respectively.

Thus it is clear that a high percentage of the Malays own land through inheritance, whereas the Chinese own land mainly through purchase.

One of the main reasons is that the forefathers of the Malays were farmers and hence their children inherit these lands.

These lands are equally precious to them as they not only inherit the land, but also the occupations of their forefathers. The Chinese on the other hand, through the generations, have been businessmen. Hence the nature of their occupation limit the number of those who owned land through inheritance.

In the case of owning land through "neneroka", 7.5% of the Malays own land through this way. There is none in the case of the Chinese.

It is also clear from Table 2, that the total acreage of land owned through purchase constitutes a higher percentage as compared to land owned through inheritance and inheritance/buying. In this matter, both the races show a similar pattern - 31.1% for the Malays and 39.3% for the Chinese. Although the total percentage of the Malays who own land through inheritance constitute the highest percentage, that is, 45%, yet in terms of total acreage, it is the lowest.

Methods of acquiring land	Malays		Chinese	
	N	%	N	%
1. Inheritance	21	45	0	0
2. Inheritance & buying	2	4.4	1	2.6
3. Buying	28	60.6	39	100
4. Nenaroka	1	2.2	0	0
Total	47	100	40	100

Table 3

Methods of Acquiring Land By Aoreans

Ownership			0.1-1	1.1-2	2.1-4	4.1-7	7.1-10	10.1-15	15.1-20	20.1-25	25.1 & above	Total	%
Methods													
1. Buying	M	2	2	1	2	2	-	-	2	-	-	11	27.5
	C	-	-	4	-	-	4	-	-	-	-	4	39.5
2. Inheritance	M	1	5	7	5	-	-	-	-	-	-	18	45
	C	-	-	-	2	-	1	-	-	1	1	5	24.6
3. Inheritance & Buying	M	-	-	1	-	3	3	1	1	-	-	8	20
	C	-	-	-	-	1	3	-	-	-	-	4	25.5
4. "Meneroke" (Acquisition)	M	-	-	-	3	-	-	-	-	-	-	3	7.5
	C	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-0	0

M = Malays

C = Chinese

The holdings which the Malays inherit normally range from one to seven acres as clearly shown in Table 3. 12.5% of their own land holdings in the 1.1 - 2 acres bracket and 17.5% of their own land holdings in the bracket of 2.1 - 4 acres. Hence a total of 30% of their own land holdings ranging from 0.1 - 4 acres. Thus it can be concluded that the majority of the Malays inherit small holdings.

The Chinese on the other hand inherit larger holdings as compared to the Malay holdings. 17.6% of their own land ranging from 10 to 25.1 acres and above. There is a Chinese who inherits 30 acres of land.

Such differences exist among the Malays and Chinese is due to the fact that the Malays divide their land equally among their children. This leads to fragmentation of their holdings into smaller pieces as time passes. There is an old man of 65 years of age who owns 17½ acres of land. He has five children. He retained 4 acres for himself and the rest he divided equally among his children. This means that each of his children receives 2.6 acres.

The inheritance pattern of the Chinese is such that normally only the males inherit, with the eldest son receiving the biggest amount followed by the 2nd, 3rd and so forth. Another reason for such a difference between the Malays and Chinese is that the Chinese parents in matter of inheritance use the criterion of whether any of their children would find difficulty in meeting ends meet without this inheritance.

Hence they have difficulties in meeting ends meet without these inheritance. As such, the inheritance of the Chinese tends to be larger as compared to the Malay holdings.

The Chinese who own land through purchase have relatively larger holdings

Those Malays who own land through purchase have larger holdings as compared to those who own land through inheritance. 15% of them have holdings ranging from 4.1 to 20 acres and 12.5% of them have holdings ranging from 0.1 to 4 acres. Out of the eleven who own land through purchase only, three of them own land less than 4 acres. One of them is a teacher who owns $\frac{1}{2}$ acre for the purpose of building his house. The other two are farmers and the land holdings are $3\frac{1}{2}$ and 2 acres respectively. One of them depend entirely (that is, $3\frac{1}{2}$ acres) on land for his living. The other supplements his income by working as a labourer in Singapore.

Classification of the Inhabitants Involved in Agriculture

Out of the eleven who own land through purchase, two of them are owners of land holdings in the bracket of 15.1 to 20 acres. One of them is a teacher, the other is a businessman. The teacher own 16 acres of oil-palm land. His combined salary with his wife ranges from \$2,000.00 upwards. Thus he has the means to purchase such holding. The businessman on the other hand was a former State assemblyman and at present the Director of "Lembaga Iedang Kejora" and also one of the board of Directors of "Tabung Haji". He owns 10 acres of oil-palm land which costs \$16,000.00. From his land alone, he gets \$1,000.00 a month and from his business, he gets \$2,000.00 a month.

divided into two sub-groups. The first being those who operate on their own holdings and the second being those who operate on holdings belonging to others.

He also intends to open a brick-factory. Hence it is clear from these two cases that these people are able to purchase large holdings.

There is another group of people who depend primarily on agriculture for livelihood. They are referred to as *landlords*.

The Chinese who own land through purchase have relatively large holdings although they are not as large as those who own land through inheritance.

20% of the Malays own land through inheritance/buying and 36% of the Chinese own land in this way. Both the races who own land through this way have relatively large holdings. 12.5% of the Malays own land ranging from 7.1 to 20 acres as compared to 4% who owned land below 7 acres. The Chinese have holdings ranging from 7.1 to 15 acres. Hence in this aspect the Chinese as a whole own larger holdings as compared to the Malays.

category of landlords. Two bases of remuneration for the hired labourers are commonly practised:

Categorisation of the Inhabitants Involved in Agriculture

(a) The "tumpang-tani" or "tenant payment" system.

Although Parit Raja is fast changing into a modern society, yet it is fundamentally an agrarian community. Hence, land is very valuable to the inhabitants. As shown in Table 1, it is clear that there is an uneven distribution of land among the inhabitants - some who possess no land or little land, whereas on the other hand, some possess a lot of land. Those who own large holdings normally do not work the land themselves but instead derive incomes by renting the land to others or by hiring labourers to work on their land. They are termed as the absentee landlords. This group can be divided into two sub-groups. The first being those who operate on their own holdings and the second being those who operate on holdings belonging to others.

These groups are known as owner-operators and tenants respectively.

There is another group of people who depend primarily on agriculture for livelihood. They are referred to as farmers. (3)

1. Landlord

The landlords are those who own land which they do not tend themselves. Most of their holdings are large, normally tens acres and above. However they derive profits from these lands by hiring others or also known as tenants to work on their land. Most of the Chinese land-owners are in this category. Out of the 17 Chinese who own land, 10 of them are in the category of landlord. Two bases of remuneration for the hired labourers are commonly practised:

(a) The "timbang-kati" or "contract payment" system.

(b) The "bagi-dua" or "share-cropping" system.

(3) To sustain their livelihood. They supplement their poor incomes by

(3) Firth R. "The Peasantry of South-east Asia", in INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS, Vol. XXVI No. 4, 1950 - "..... a man engaged in rural pursuits, primarily agriculture, with a comparatively simple technology and a special interest in the land he works"

as tenant, the rest supplement their incomes by working as labourers in Singapore. The coffee operators work in Singapore during the off-season of coffee. Some of them do odd jobs like clearing undergrowth in rubber estates, carpentry work and others.

Under the former the hired-labourers are paid normally 40% of the total value of the product. In the latter, the products are divided equally between the owner and the hired-labourer. The Chinese normally employ the contract payment system. The share-cropping system is common among the Malay landlords.

2. Owner-Operators

This is the group of people who work on their own land. They normally own holdings between the range of 4 to 6 acres. They are able to derive a reasonable income from their land without any supplementary work. However there is a Malay owner in this category who owns only $3\frac{1}{2}$ acres of coconut land. He is able to make his ends meet with supplementary incomes from his children who are working.

3. Owner-Operators cum labourer or tenant

This is the group of farmers who own holdings which are too small to sustain their livelihood. They supplement their poor incomes by working either as labourers or as tenant in other people's land. Only two out of the eight Malay farmers in this group supplement their income as tenant, the rest supplement their incomes by working as labourers in Singapore. The coffee operators work in Singapore during the off-seasons of coffee. Some of them do odd jobs like clearing undergrowth in rubber estates, carpentary work and others.

4. Owner-operators cum landlord

These are the people who have their own land but they could not possibly operate the whole holdings on their own even with the help of family members. This is normally the case whereby they own land in separate localities which make it quite difficult for them to operate. Hence they hire labourers to work on these land.

5. Tenants

The tenants are those dependent primarily on agriculture for livelihood but they do not own any land. Instead they work on the land of others either on share-cropping system or on the contract system. 6.4% of the Malays who are engaged primarily in agriculture are tenants and 5.5% of the Chinese who are tenants.

Categories	Malay	Chinese
Landlords	2.3	55.5
Landlords cum owner-operators	6.2	5.5
Owner-Operators	59.1	39.3
Owner-Operators cum tenants or labourers	25	6
Tenants	6.4	5.5
TOTAL	100.0%	100.0%

M = Malay
C = Chinese

TABLE 4

Distribution of heads of households engaged in agriculture according to the number of acres for different categories

CATEGORIES	Race	No. of Persons	Percentage	No. of Acres	Percentage
1. Landlords	M	3	9.3	42	19.5
	C	10	55.5	120.5	64.2
2. Landlords cum owner-operators	M	2	6.2	20	9.3
	C	11	5.5	10	5
3. Owner-Operators	M	17	53.1	119.5	55.7
	C	6	33.3	51	26.7
4. Owner-Operators cum tenants or labourers	M	8	25	22	10.2
	C	0	0	0	0
5. Tenants	M	2	6.2	11	5.1
	C	1	5.5	9	4
TOTAL	M	32	100.0%	214.5	100.0%
	C	18	100.0%	190.5	100.0%

M = Malay

C = Chinese

Table 4 shows that a high percentage of the Malays are in the category of owner-operators, that is, 54.8%. The Chinese on the other hand have a high percentage of landlords, that is, 55.5%. Chinese owner-operators constitute only 33.3% as compared to 54.8% of Malay owner-operators.

Most of the Malay owner-operators own land ranging from 4.1 to 7 acres. There is one of them who owns 16 acres of land and another two who owns 11½ and 13 acres. With holdings of 4 to 7 acres, it is possible for a person to sustain a living. On the average, this group of people earn within \$150.00 to \$250.00 per month.

Although the income range of the Malay owner-operators is \$150.00 to \$250.00, it also depends on the type of cash crops they plant. Four acres of rubber land would normally give around \$250.00 per month. Four acres of coffee also gives around \$250.00 per month. But four acres of oil palm can give \$350 - \$400 per month. However, all the Malay owner-operators grow either coffee, coconut or rubber or a combination of coffee and coconut or a combination of the three.

The Chinese owner-operators are however more fortunate as they grow either rubber or oil-palm or a combination of both. On top of this, most of their rubber trees are bud-grafted and hence they yield 2 to 3 times more than "getah kampung". Hence it can be said that the Chinese owner-operators are better off economically than the Malay owner-operators.

There is no Chinese in the category of owner-operator cum labourer or tenant category. However, 25.8% of the Malays are in this category. They own holdings ranging from 1.1 to 4 acres. Out of the 25.8%, only 2 of them own land of 4 acres. Due to the fact that their holdings are too small, they have to supplement their incomes by working in other people's land besides their own or as labourers. Out of the 8 farmers in this category, only 2 of them work as owner-operator cum tenant and the other 6 work as owner-operator cum labourer.

The two who work as owner-operators cum tenants work in holdings belonging to the Chinese. Normally in such case, the wives would work on their own land while the husbands work in the Chinese holdings. As stated, the majority of them worked as labourers in the building industry of Singapore because of the high income they earn from such work. They can earn on the average \$500.00 a month if they work 30 days a month. The two who are owner-operators cum tenants earn roughly on the average, \$200.00 to \$300.00 a month.

Such preference to work as labourers in Singapore is also due to the proximity of Parit Raja to Singapore.

TABLE 6Distribution of heads of households according to different age groups

Methods \ Age	Race	20	21-25	26-30	31-35	36-40	41-45	46-50	51-60	61-70	71 & AF
Buying	M				4	1			3	1	
	C				1		2		3		2
Inheritance	M			1	2	4	5	1	3	1	
	C						1	1	2	1	
"Meneroka" (acquisition)	M										3
	C										
Inheritance And Buying	M			1		1	1	1	1	3	
	C						2	1	1		

M = Malay

C = Chinese

Table 6 shows that both races possess a similar pattern in land ownership according to the age groups. Most of them who own land either through inheritance, purchase or other means are around the age of 30 and above except for one Malay who inherit land at the age of 28.

The older people are the people who have accumulated enough savings through the long years of working. Thus they are able to purchase land. The younger people are not able to do so as they lack the means. They need more time to be able to accumulate the amount of money to purchase land.

Among the Chinese, those who bought land are also the older people around the age of 30 to 65 and above. They are the people who start purchasing land after the Japanese Occupation through dint of strigent meals and a style of living.

Even for those who inherit land, they are found in the age bracket of 30 and above.

As for the case of "meneroka", there are only 3 such cases and they are in the age bracket of 71 and above.

Type of land	Race	No. of persons	Percentage	No. of acres	Percentage
Rubber	M	11	27.5	32	14.7
	C	6	35.2	50.5	24.9
Coffee	M	4	10	13	6
	C				
Coconut	M	2	5	8.5	3.9
	C				
Oil Palm	M	4	10	45	20.6
	C	4	23.5	29	14.3
Coffee and rubber	M	2	5	19.5	8.9
	C				
Coffee and Coconut	M	9	22.5	43	19.1
	C				
Coffee and coconut and rubber	M	4	5	44.5	20.4
	C				
House-site	M	3	7.5	19	8.7
	C				
Oil palm and rubber	M	1	2.5	10	4.5
	C	7	41.1	123	60.7
TOTAL	M	40	100.0%	217.4	100.0%
	C	17	100.0%	202.5	100.0%

M = Malay
C = Chinese

Table 7 shows that the majority of the Malays own rubber holdings. The majority of the Chinese own rubber/oil-palm holdings. Profit can only be realised after a few years. During this period, they would have 27.5% of the Malays own rubber holdings as compared to 35.2% by the Chinese. The Chinese own 24.9% acres of rubber holdings are compared to 14.7% acres by the Malays. This shows that most of the Malays own rather small holdings as compared to the Chinese.

Why are there more Chinese who own rubber holdings as compared to the Malays?

One generalisation which can be made is that the Chinese are more sensitive to changes in prices of commodities. With the introduction of rubber into Malaysia coupled with the devastating low prices of coffee, the Chinese are quick to switch to rubber. At this present economic situation of the 80's, rubber does not seem to be attractive among the Chinese land owners. This is proven by the fact that they are fast converting their rubber holdings into oil-palm holdings. 41.1% of the Chinese own oil-palm/rubber holdings as compared to 2.5% of the Malays who own oil-palm/rubber holdings. The Malays are quick to realise the need to convert their holdings to more profitable agriculture.

There is one main reason why the Malays are not converting their holdings into oil-palm. They lack the financial means to do so. Profit can only be realised after a few years. During this period, they would have difficulties to meet their daily needs. There is also the possibility of failure due to diseases in the process of converting.

Coffee is exclusively a small farmer's crop. Much of the coffee in Perak is interplanted with other crops, usually coconut, although in certain holdings it is planted as the sole cash crop. The majority of the coffee plants grown are of the coffee liberica variety. Liberica coffee is most suited to the shallow peaty soil of the coastal districts with efficient drainage undertaken. The coffee farmers in Perak are all Malays, mainly of Javanese descent. 10% of the Malays grow coffee as the sole crop and 22.5% grow coffee and coconut in the holdings and another 3% grow coffee with coconut and rubber in their holdings.

The Liberica bushes when planted on coastal soil have a life span of 20 to 30 years. Yields are dependent upon the variety of coffee plants, age, soil and pruning. With the Liberica type, the bushes commence to bear fruit three years after planting and considered to be yielding fully after the fifth or sixth year.

Chapter 3 of the Liberian type are varied in size. The colour of the ripe berry varies from yellowish to dark red. For every pound of fresh Agricultural Activities - A General Background of prepared beans after processing. Average yield of Liberian coffee in full bearing ranges from Coffee 10 pounds of fresh berries per acre per annum.

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The fruits of the Liberian type are varied in size. The colour of the ripe berry varies from yellowish to dark red. For every pikul of fresh berries we can expect to obtain about ten katis of prepared beans after processing. Average yield of Liberian coffee in full bearing ranges from 30 to 50 pikuls of fresh berries per acre per annum.

Harvesting

The current price offered by the middle-man is roughly \$2.00 per kati. However, FAMA normally offer a few cents higher. The two main cropping seasons are May to July and December to February, but berries are collected throughout the year. For harvesting, it is important that great care should be taken so that the berries are ripe. Unripe berries yield poor quality beans and will reduce future yield.

The fresh berries are split or broken by machines before being spread evenly. Harvesting is generally done by family labour. As most of the farmers own only 2 to 4 acres, additional hired labourers are not necessary even during heavy cropping seasons. A day is often taken to ensure that all berries are evenly dried. With good weather the drying process may take 5 to 6 days. The amount each person can harvest a day during the heavy season generally average between 100 to 150 katis of fresh berries.

Weighing and Grading

The harvested berries are mostly sold to the kampung middle-men or to FAMA. There is no grading in the coffee berries purchased. What matters is that the berries harvested must be ripe. As such, if the harvested crop contains a high proportion of green berries, then there may be an arbitrary deduction. The current price offered by the middle-men is roughly \$2.00 per kati. However, FAMA normally offer a few cents higher than the middle-men.

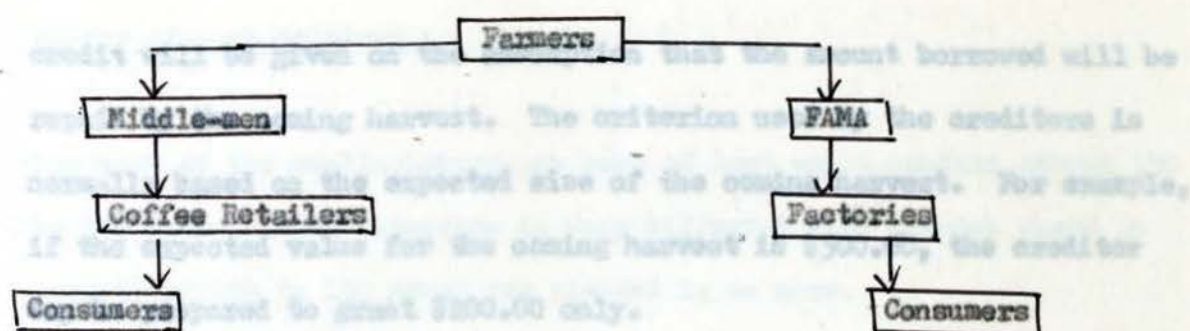
Processing coffee beans

The fresh berries are split or broken by machine before being spread evenly on the cement floor for drying in the sun. Splittling the fresh berries is necessary so that the drying process can be accelerated. The berries are stirred three to four times a day in order to ensure that all berries are evenly dried. With good weather the drying process may take 5 to 6 days. During rainy season, a longer period is necessary when there is rain or after sunset, the berries are to be collected in heaps. Portable zinc sheets are employed to cover them.

The prepared beans are mostly sold to a coffee retailer from Kluang who comes to Parit Raja to collect coffee beans, usually once or twice a month. His supplier is the village middlemen. There is one middle-man in Parit Raja who grinds some of the beans into coffee which is sold to sundry and coffee shops. But most of the prepared beans are sold to the Kluang retailer.

FAMA - Federal Agricultural Marketing Authority
Market Channel

All the coffee farmers in Parit Raja are Malays. They sell their coffee either to the middle-man or FAMA. However, most of the coffee farmers prefer to sell their products to the Chinese middle-men because they offer credit and advances to the farmers in times of need. This preference is made because FAMA normally pays the farmers a day or more after delivery. For example, the working hours of FAMA is 8 am to 4 pm and Friday is an off day. Normally, by the time the farmers finish plucking the berries, it is already two or three o'clock and by the time they are ready to send their products to FAMA, it is already closed. Furthermore, the cashier (that is, FAMA only officer there) has only \$500.00 at one time at his disposal and hence those who sell their product at a time when the \$500.00 is used up normally have to expect delay payments which most farmers do not like. That is why they prefer the Chinese middle-men despite the lower price offered by them.



FAMA = Federal Agricultural Marketing Authority

Credit Malaya, where rubber land is owned by the small-holders as compared to that owned by the estates. However, in terms of output, the Most of the Chinese middle-men provide credit facilities to the small farmers. Owing to the seasonality of coffee berry production, it is usual for the farmers to borrow during off-seasons when there is no other source of income. Credit is given to the small farmers on the expectation that their harvested crops will be sold to the creditors.

Loans are normally given in the form of cash. The extension of a loan depends on the financial standing of the individual farmer and the amount of trust the creditor has on him. Among the factors taken into consideration by the creditor in judging the credit worthiness of the farmers are his socio-economic position and the familiarity of the creditor with him. 27.3% of the Malays own rubber holdings, 35.3% of the Chinese own rubber holdings. Thus more Chinese own rubber holdings as compared "Forward Sale" involve an unwritten agreement whereby a certain amount of

credit will be given on the assumption that the amount borrowed will be repaid by the coming harvest. The criterion used by the creditors is normally based on the expected size of the coming harvest. For example, if the expected value for the coming harvest is \$300.00, the creditor may be prepared to grant \$200.00 only.

Malaysian Rubber Industry

In West Malaysia, more rubber land is own by the small-holders as compared to that own by the estates. However, in terms of output, the estates produce more rubber than the small-holdings because the plantations have at their disposal, certain advantages like economy of large scale, use of modern technology, high standards of production and efficient market intelligence as compared to the disorganised and ineffective small-holders.

Rubber Industry in Parit Raja

There is no rubber estate in Parit Raja. The biggest holding which I come across was 25 acres. All the rubber produce in Parit Raja are by the small-holders. On the average, each rubber holding ranges from 3 to 4 acres. 27.5% of the Malays own rubber holdings. 35.2% of the Chinese own rubber holdings. Thus more Chinese own rubber holdings as compared to the Malays.

Output of such holdings

For most of the smallholdings, an acre of land would contain around 150 to 200 trees. Such situation is very different with estates where an average of 120 to 150 trees are planted in an acre.

Most of the farmers believe that more trees would mean more rubber. In contrast, the estates emphasis on the maximum yield per tree. As such, the average amount of rubber produced per acre by the estates is far more than 2 small-holdings.

The tapping of the trees

The tapping frequencies of small holdings are irregular. No operator taps his trees every day of the month; usually it is around 18 to 20 days per month. Interruptions for festive occasions, holidays, bad weather are the main reasons which keep the number of tapping days down. Nevertheless, the number of tapping days are generally higher than on estates, where trees are tapped on alternate days. There are no definite rest periods for tapping trees on smallholdings.

"Getah kampung" on an average yields 2 katies of latex per day per acre, whereas the bud-grafted ones yield 6 katies per day per acre. But most of the rubber trees in Parit Raja are "getah kampung" and normally 20 to 25 years old.

Rubber Small-holdings Replanting Scheme

For the State of Johore, this scheme was implemented in the year 1952 by "Lembaga Rancangan Tanah Semula". (4) In Parit Raja there are 6 of them carrying out the re-planting scheme. They are given \$1,300.00 for each acre of land which undergoes this re-planting scheme. There are quite a number of them in the process of waiting. The initial response to this scheme in the State of Johore was unfavourable. This is especially so among the farmers who depended solely on rubber for their livelihood. They have the mis-conception that if they accept this scheme, how they are going to survive. However through careful explanations by government officials, they finally accepted the idea of replanting while waiting for the trees to grow they can plant crops like coffee, bananas, vegetables, etc. Such was done by those who accepted the scheme in Parit Raja. Most of the small-holders interviewed reported that they had at one time or another replanted their holdings or had applied for replanting grants.

(a) Over-operator using family labour or hired labour.

(4) Laporan Rancangan Tanam Semula Getah, Johore

(5) Laporan Rancangan Tanam Semula Getah, Johore.

Kumpulan Wang 'B'

This scheme derives its monetary source by extracting 4½ cents for every pound of rubber exported. The aid given to the farmers is termed "Kumpulan Wang 'B'". For Johore itself, a total of 167,396,077.40 in 1976 was issued from this fund. (5) \$400.00 was initially the sum given for every acre replanted and in 1952 the amount arose to \$750.00 and by 1967, to encourage replanting among small-holders, the grant arose to \$850.00 and in 1981, the amount is \$1,300.00. There has been an overwhelming number of applications for such grants and hence a quota system was introduced. Certain stricter criteria have to be met before approval which I would not discuss here. As a result, those who fail to fulfil these requirements are turned away.

The Management of a Small-Holder

The systems of operation employed by Parit Raja's smallholders can be classified into two broad categories:

(a) Owner-operator using family labour on hired labour.

(b) Absentee owner using hired tappers.

(5) Laporan Rancangan Tanaman Semula Getah, Johore.

Of the two systems, the more widely practised is the former as most of the people own their own land. On the average a person can normally tap 3 acres per day. This would contain 450 to 606 trees. As most of the small-holdings are only a few acres in size, they normally work on their own with help from their families, namely wives. There is no necessity to have outside labour to perform the operation. Tapping juncos, baskets, tapping knives, strainer, etc are provided by the owners. This system is common among the Chinese. Often the absentee Chinese owners have found employment in non-farming occupations. Included under this category of absentee owners are the village shopkeepers, teachers, etc. The other category, that is, absentee owner using hired tappers, is common among the Chinese. Often the absentee Chinese owners have found employment in non-farming occupations. Included under this category of absentee owners are the village shopkeepers, teachers, etc. The disadvantage of this system of operation is the absence of careful supervision by the owners. The tappers tend to maximise his current income regardless of the long term effects on the trees. The basis of remuneration for hired tappers is the share of the cost of production and profit between the owner and hired tapper. The Basis of Remuneration for Hired Tappers

Two basis of remuneration are commonly practised:

- (a) The 'timbang kati' or 'contract payment' system.
- (b) The 'bagi-dua' or 'share-cropping' system.

Under the contract payment system, the hired tappers are paid a specific amount of money for every kati of rubber produced. There may be some variations in the actual amount of money received by tappers but generally, it is around 40% of the value of the rubber.

The production equipments such as latex cups, coagulating pans, buckets, tapping knives, strainer, etc are provided by the owners. This system is practised by Chinese owners only. Payment is normally done on a monthly basis. However, the farmers will rely on the middle-men to whom they sell their rubber produce for advances.

If the owner happens to be a shop-keeper, then there is this system of payment whereby the tappers purchase their goods from the owner on credit which is deducted from the monthly wages at the end of the month.

Under the share-cropping system, there is some sort of arrangement for the sharing of the cost of production and profit between the owner and hired tappers. There are only 3 tenants whom the researcher came across in this survey and they work under the contract-payment system. However, market intelligence at higher level of marketing channels is adequate.

Under the contract payment system, there is a number malpractices carried out by the hired tappers. It is quite a normal practise where the hired-tappers secretly sell some rubber sheets to the middle-men for their own gains. By doing this, they benefit more. This has been one of the reasons why more and more Chinese do not wish to invest in such holdings but rather

what price they receive.

prefer other forms of investment like buying of houses/land and shares for speculation.

Finance is essentially a small farmers' coop. In this village, it is often used with coffee. The number of trees planted and yield per acre is therefore less than it would have been if it is planted as a sole crop.

The time lag between production and sales means that the small farmers need to borrow for the family's daily purchase of necessities. Also, in time of financial difficulties when he is unable to tap the trees because of bad weather, the farmers will rely on the middle-men to whom they sell their rubber produce for advances.

Market Intelligence Industry consists primarily of fresh milk, copra,

Market intelligence, especially for precise price quotation is very inadequate at the farm level. The individual small farmers in the kampung do not know what prices they should receive. No doubt "Radio Malaysia" and various daily newspapers in the country disseminate daily price quotation, but the farmers who have small amount for sale would not bother to check it against the prices offered by the dealers. However, market intelligence at higher level of marketing channels is adequate. Precise price information is obtainable by telephones and radios. For example, all the licensed or unlicensed dealers, including the middle-men have telephones in their shops or houses. In this aspect, the small-holders are normally given a price which is lower than the actual price quoted in the market. As stated above, they have small amount for sale and does not really bother what price they receive.

Coconut

Coconut is essentially a small farmers' crop. In this village, it is often interplanted with coffee. The number of trees planted and yield per acre is therefore less than it would have been if it is planted as a sole crop.

The coconut palm begins to yield fruits after 4 to 6 years of planting. Full production, however, is reached around 10 years of age and yield of a mature palm varies from 40 to 50 nuts per palm per annum, or about 2,500 nuts per acre per annum.

The products of coconut industry consist primarily of fresh nuts, copra, coconut oil and toddy. But the coconut dealers in this district are mainly concerned with the sales of fresh nuts and copra. The husked nuts may be sold as in the using of santan for curry. Copra on the other hand is generally described as dried kernel or dried meat of the coconut which is eventually converted into oil.

The percentage of harvested nuts sold as fresh nuts or processed into copra depends on the market demand for household consumption and a greater percentage left are processed into copra.

Harvesting

The harvesting of nuts is normally carried out regularly at an interval between 45 to 55 days or 6 to 8 times a year. The harvest normally occur between May and October.

In most cases, the method of harvesting coconut involves the use of a long pole, with sickle-shaped knife to the top. A professional harvester can harvest about 200 trees per day.

Husking

The process of removing the husk from the harvested nuts is known as "husking". The instrument used is a sharp iron fixed to the top of a wooden stake.

Market Intelligence

(a) Those who are primarily dependant on agriculture.

The small-holders face the same problem as the rubber and coffee small-holders. They either sell to the middle-men or FAMA.

Chapter 4

Economic And Social Implications

In spite of the emphasis on industrialization in Peninsular Malaysia since its independence, agriculture still remains the most important source of income and employment for the majority of the labour force.

The people of Parit Raja are agricultural and non-agricultural workers. Agriculture is the predominant source of livelihood for the Malays. The Chinese are found mainly in the non-agricultural sector. From Table 8 it is clear that more Malays are engaged primarily in agriculture. The majority of the Chinese are engaged primarily in non-agricultural occupations. Besides their primary occupations, the people also engage in other occupations. Thus a dualistic feature in the occupations of the majority of the people is visible.

Thus the working population of Parit Raja can be categorised into two broad categories :-

- (a) Those who are primarily dependent on agriculture.
- (b) Those who are not primarily dependent on agriculture.

Table 8

Occupation	Malay		Chinese		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Agriculture	29	58	8	16	37	37%
Non-agriculture	21	42	42	84	63	63%
TOTAL	50	100%	50	100%	100	100%

Distribution of occupation among the 100 heads of households

From Table 8 it is clear that more Malays are engaged primarily in agriculture. The majority of the Chinese are engaged primarily in non-agricultural occupations.

Out of the 29 Malay farmers who are primarily engaged in agriculture, only 2 of them (tenant-operators) do not own land. Out of the 8 Chinese who are primarily engaged in agriculture, only one of them do not own land.

Table 9

DISTRIBUTION OF LAND OWNERSHIP AMONG THOSE
PRIMARILY ENGAGED IN AGRICULTURE

Type of Jobs		0	1.1-2	2.1-4	4.1-7	7.1-10	10.1-15	15.1-20	20.1-25	25.1 & above
Rubber operator	M	2	1	2	2					
	C	1			1					
Coffee operator	M			2	1					
	C									
Coconut operator	M				1					
	C									
Oil-palm operator	M			1	1					
	C				1	1				
Coffee & Rubber operator	M				1					
	C									
Coffee & Coconut operator	M			4	5					
	C									
Coffee & Coconut & Rubber operator	M				1	1	1	1		
	C									
Oil-palm & Rubber operators	M						1			
	C					2	1	1		

M = Malay
C = Chinese

Table 9 shows that more Malays are primarily engaged in agriculture as compared to the Chinese. The total acreage of land owned by the Malays primarily engaged in agriculture is 161.5 acres as compared to 63 acres in the case of the Chinese.

However, the Chinese own larger holdings as compared to the Malays. 5 of them or 62.5% own land ranging from 7 acres and above. 22 of the Malays or 75.8% own holdings less than 7 acres.

Most of the Chinese who are engaged primarily in agriculture own oil-palm and rubber holdings, i.e., 4 of them or 50%. The Malays however tend to concentrate on cash crops like coffee, rubber and coconut. Only one of them or 3.4% is found growing oil-palm crops.

Type of job	Race	Acreage of land owned				
		0	0.1-1	1.1-2	2.1-3	3.1-4
Businessmen	M	2		1		
	C	15				
Teachers	M	2	1			
	C					
Labourers	M	2			3	
	C	2				
Others	M	2				
	C	6				

Distribution of land ownership among those not primarily engaged in agriculture according to occupations

Type of jobs	Acres	Race	0	0.1-1	1.1-2	2.1-4	4.1-7	7.1-10	10.1-15	15.1-20	20.1-25	25.1 &
Businessmen		M	2		1				1	1		
		C	13				3	1	4	1		1
Teacher		M	2	1						1		
		C										
Labourer		M	2		3							
		C	9				1					
Others		M	2	2								
		C	6		1		1					

M = Malay

C = Chinese

As shown in Table 10, 42% of the Malays are primarily engaged in non-agricultural occupations. The total acreage owned by this category is 67.4 acres. The total percentage of Chinese engaged primarily in non-agricultural occupation is 84%.

The Malay businessmen are those who own the largest holdings as compared to Malay non-businessmen. The Chinese businessmen are also those who own the largest holdings as compared to the rest of the Chinese in this category. In the case of the Malay businessmen, 2 of them own 10 and 16 acres of land respectively. On top of this, they plant oil-palm as a cash crop. They derive about \$1,000.00 per month from 10 acres of oil-palm land. In the case of the Chinese, one of them own 30 acres of oil-palm/rubber land and another owned 20 acres of oil-palm/rubber land.

There is one Malay teacher who owns 16 acres of oil-palm land.

The labourers are those who own very little or no land at all. In the case of the Chinese, out of the 10 labourers surveyed only one possess land but his holding is only 5 acres.

Table 11

Distribution of land ownership among those primarily and not primarily engaged in agriculture - a comparison

Type of jobs	Acres		0	0.1-1	1.1-2	2.1-4	4.1-7	7.1-10	10.1-15	15.1-20	20.1-25	25.1 & above
Rubber operator	M	2		1	2	2						
	C	1				1						
Coffee operator	M				2	1						
	C											
Coconut operator	M					1						
	C											
Oil-palm operator	M				1	1						
	C					1	1					
Coffee & Rubber operator	M					1			1			
	C											
Coffee & Coconut Operator	M				4	5						
	C											
Coffee & Coconut & Rubber operator	M					1	1	1	1			
	C											
Oil-palm & Rubber operator	M								1			
	C								2	1	1	
Businessman	M	2		1		1			1	1		
	C	13				3	1	4	1			1
Teacher	M	2	1							1		
	C											
Labourer	M	2			3							
	C	9				1						
Others	M	2	2					1	1			
	C	6			1		1					

A comparison of land ownership between the Malays primarily engaged in agriculture and the Malays who are not primarily engaged in agriculture shows that land ownership among these two categories is similar in that a small percentage of them own holdings ranging from 7 acres and above and the majority own land ranging from 0.1 to 7 acres.

A parallel comparison among the Chinese shows more or less a similar pattern. Those Chinese who are not primarily engaged in agriculture own more land.

Household Budgets

It is difficult to obtain data on income and expenditure while it is more difficult to ensure there is a high level of accuracy. Thus the figures obtained are approximation of the true amounts.

For all the household heads, the most important determinant of the size of their income is the type of occupation they are engaged in and whether they have subsidiary occupations. Household incomes depend not only on the size of the incomes of the individuals but also the number of individuals in the household who are earning. In addition the size of the incomes of the individuals is also determined by whether they own properties or not.

Income information received from the teachers is more accurate than income information received from the farmers. This is because the latter incomes are determined by the market price of their produce and also the weather.

Malays make up a greater proportion of those in the lower income group in Malaysia. In Parit Raja, the greater proportion of the Malay households are in the lower income group.

Table 16
Income distribution among those
primarily engaged in agriculture

Income (RM)	0-60	61-100	101-140	141-180	181-240	241-300	301-400	401-600	601-1000	1001-1500	1501-2000	2001 & above
Malay	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Chinese	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Others	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

Table 12

Income distribution among those
primarily engaged in agriculture.

Income (\$)	Acres										
		0	0.1-1	1.1-2	2.1-4	4.1-7	7.1-10	10.1-15	15.1-20	20.1-25	25.1 & above
0 - 60	M										
	C										
61 - 100	M				1		2				
	C										
101 - 160	M				2	3	1				
	C										
161 - 240	M				5	1	2				
	C										
241 - 340	M	2		2	1		1				
	C					1					
341 - 460	M							1			
	C	1				1	1				
461 - 600	M					1		1	1		
	C										
601 - 800	M										
	C							2			
801 - 1200	M							2			
	C							1	1		
1201 - 1600	M										
	C										
1601 - 2000	M										
	C										
2001 & above	M										
	C										

M = Malay

C = Chinese

From Table 12 it is clear that the more land one has the more income one derives. Hence, those who own large holdings enjoy high incomes. However, one very important factor also plays a very vital role in determining the income of this category that is the type of cash crop one plants. Those who plant oil-palm tend to have higher income than those who plant rubber, coconut or coffee. For example, in general, 5 acres of oil-palm can give \$400 - \$450 a month as compared to 5 acres of coffee or rubber which gives only \$200 - \$300 per month. There are two cases among the Malay farmers who own land ranging from 7 acres and above and yet they draw an income of around \$100. This is because their holdings are in the process of being replanted.

A comparison between the Malay farmers and the Chinese farmers shows that the Chinese farmers have higher incomes. 87% of them draw an income ranging from \$541 and above as compared to 21% of the Malays who draw an income ranging from \$341 above. Most of the Malay farmers have incomes ranging from \$61 to \$340. More than half of the Malay farmers are in the income bracket of \$61 to \$340. This is because their holdings are either too small or their rubber trees are of poor-yielding variety and also they are old trees. Most of the Chinese farmers own larger holdings and most of them grow cash crops like rubber/oil-palm as compared to the majority of the Malay farmers who grow coconut, rubber and coffee.

Table 13

Income distribution among those not primarily engaged in agriculture

Income(\$)	Acres		0	0.1-1	1.1-2	2.1-4	4.1-7	7.1-10	10.1-15	15.1-20	20.1-25	25.1 & above
0 - 60	M											
	C											
61 - 100	M											
	C											
101 - 160	M						1					
	C											
161 - 240	M			2								
	C	3										
241 - 340	M	3					1	1				
	C	8										
341 - 460	M	1	1									
	C	9					3	1				
461 - 600	M	4										
	C	8										
601 - 800	M	1										
	C	4					1					
800 - 1200	M	1	1									
	C											
1201 - 1600	M							1		1		
	C	2						1				
1601 - 2000	M							1				
	C									1		
2001 & above	M											
	C											1

M = Malay

C = Chinese

Table 14

Type of jobs	Malay		Chinese	
	No. of persons	%	No. of persons	%
1. Businessmen	6	28.5	22	52.3
2. Teacher	4	19	0	0
3. Labourer	5	23.8	10	23.8
4. Carpenter	1	4.7	0	0
5. Lorrydriver	0	0	5	11.9
6. Salesmen	0	0	2	4.7
7. Others	5	23.8	3	7.1
TOTAL	21	100%	42	100%

Distribution of non-agricultural occupations among 63 heads of households.

Non-agricultural activities

The Chinese work mainly as small businessmen for the village. Out of the total of 63 households heads engaged primarily in non-agricultural activities, 67% of them are Chinese and the rest Malays. Hence,

more Chinese are engaged primarily in non-agricultural occupations

as compared to the Malays.

Small Businessmen

This category as shown in Table 14 constitutes 28 people, and out of these, 22% are Malays and 78% are Chinese.

This category of people serve as middlemen between the village economy and town economy. They buy kampung products and sell them to buyers in the town. They also buy consumer goods in the town and sell them in the village. They also serve as creditors for the villagers either in the form of cash or as goods taken in advance of payment with the expectation of repayment either in agricultural products or cash. There are 6 of them in this category. All of them are Chinese.

The functions performed by this category of people are found in most villages in Malaysia. They are mainly the grocers and the rubber dealers. Among the Malay businessmen, 4 of them are grocers, one of them own a motor repair shop and another is a contractor and he is also planning to open a brick factory. Most of the Chinese own provision shops. The rest are goldsmith, tailors, barbers, rubber dealers, etc.

In the matter of initial capital outlaid, most of them start with just a few hundred dollars. It is through hard work that their business

start to expand. One difference that can be noted among the Malays and Chinese grocers is that the Chinese normally start as sole-proprietors, but the Malays normally start on a partnership basis. All the four Malay grocers start their business on a partnership basis (bersyarikat).

Teachers

This group of people can be considered to be a new group in Parit Raja. They occupy the middle-class position in the Society. They are few in number and most of them are not local residents but have been transferred to Parit Raja by the Government. The main difference between them and the villagers is in their education. This group is the product of the expansion of modern education. They have a reasonably good and stable income. If they possess land, the incomes they derive from land constitute additional income.

All the teachers in this survey are Malays. There are four vernacular school teachers and one religious teacher. All of them stay in rented houses, except the religious teacher who bought $\frac{1}{2}$ acre of land and built his own house. However, they indicated that they intended to buy their own houses.

Out of the four teachers only two of them own land. One of them owns 16 acres of oil-palm land and another owns $\frac{1}{4}$ acre of land for the purpose of building his house. Their incomes excluding additional income from land and other sources are \$1,134, \$800, \$1,000 and \$840 respectively. The teacher who owns 16 acres of oil-palm land draws \$1,134 as a teacher and presently does not derive any income from the oil-palm as they are still young. When his oil-palm is matured, it is expected he will be able to draw an additional income of about \$1,500 a month.

Labourers

This group of people own either too little land or no land at all. They have very little education and thus the only jobs for them is as labourers. Five Malays and ten Chinese are included in this category. Out of the five Malays, four worked in Singapore, and one works in a sawmill in Parit Raja. The four who work as construction workers in Singapore draw an average income of \$450 - \$550, while the one working in Parit Raja earns an income of \$320 a month. This is one of the reasons why so many of them who work as labourers prefer to work in Singapore rather than Parit Raja or Batu Pahat.

Out of the ten Chinese labourers, six of them work as shop assistants for retail shops and as lorry attendants. They draw an average income

of \$200 - \$380. The other four work in Singapore and they each earn an average of \$400 - \$550 per month. One of the reasons why they continue to work in Parit Raja despite relatively low wages is because of the low cost of living.

Out of the five Malay labourers, three of them own land of 2 acres each. Out of the ten Chinese labourers only one of them owns land which is 5 acres.

Others

The other categories are the lorrydrivers where 5 of the Chinese are included and they earn an average of \$400 - \$500 per month. Others include retired Government servants, carpenters, "kerja borong", etc.

Conclusion

The various groups of people who are involved in non-agricultural occupations have given rise to the following situations:-

- (1) The teachers form a new social group, as the middle class in Parit Raja. Their economic position is different from the villagers at large and their incomes are fixed. The nature of their job requires knowledge and education.

(2) The small businessmen who serve as middlemen in the marketing of agricultural produce from the village to the towns and selling consumer goods to the villagers. They are the group of people who enjoy a higher income as compared to the farmers.

(3) The labourers who either work at a fixed wage or on a daily wage basis as in the building industry of Singapore.

Education

Education is highly valued among the Malays and Chinese, for the intrinsic high status it confers as well as for employment opportunities for economic, social and political advancement. Traditionally, education for the Malay is synonymous with a Muslim education. This means the studying of the Koran in its original Arabic words. This form of education is found mainly among the older people especially those who have reached the age of 55 and above.

Prior to 1957 when Malaysia became independent, education in the Malay and Chinese language media was available up to primary level for 6 years. Those desiring secondary and further education had to attend schools using English as the medium of instruction. Such schools were almost exclusively available in towns.

Thus only a small number of Malays and Chinese were able to receive more than 6 years of vernacular school education. In fact, most of them received less than 6 years of school education. After the Japanese Occupation, most of them went straight to work; considering the chaotic conditions, it was almost impossible to continue one's education.

However, after independence in 1957, there has been a rapid expansion of secondary education through the setting up of Malay-medium secondary schools in the smaller towns as well as rural areas. With the setting up of Parit Raja's secondary school (i.e. Sekolah Tun Ismail), those who desired further education do not have to go to the secondary schools in Batu Pahat, a township 14 miles from Parit Raja.

Heads of household are generally of the age-group (41 - 70) that were not able to benefit from the rise of secondary education in Malay or Chinese since almost 80% of them were 35 years old and above at the time of survey. This is clearly reflected in the Table as shown in the next page.

Age	Age Group					Total
	20 - 30	31 - 40	41 - 50	51 - 60	61 - 70	
Male	10	15	20	15	10	70
Female	5	10	15	10	5	45
Total	15	25	35	25	15	115

Table 15

EDUCATION OF 100 HOUSEHOLDS HEADS

School Age		Malay	Arabic	English	Religious School	Chinese	Others	No Education
20 - 30	M	3		1				
	C			2	2	2		
31 - 40	M	10		1				2
	C			1		20		1
41 - 50	M	9	1				1	2
	C					3		
51 - 60	M	5		1				
	C					12		1
61 - 70	M	1					1	5
	C							3
71 & Above	M							3
	C							4
	M	22	1	3	2		2	12
	C			3		37		10

M = Malay
C = Chinese

EDUCATION OF 100 HOUSEHOLDS HEADS ACCORDING
TO DIFFERENT STANDARDS

Table 16

Std/Form Age		0	Std 1	Std 2	Std 3	Std 4	Std 5	Std 6	Remove	F.1.	F.2.	F.3.	F.4.	F.5.
20 - 30	M											1		2
	C												1	3
31 - 40	M	2						9			1	1		2
	C	1						15				3		2
41 - 50	M	2		1	2	1		5						1
	C	1										1		1
51 - 60	M				4	1		8						1
	C	2			2	2								
61 - 70	M	4			1			1						
	C	3												
71 & above	M	3												
	C	4												

C = Chinese

M = Malay

From Table 15 it is clear that the majority of the Malays do have some education. Most of them attend Malay schools. The majority of the Chinese have some education mainly from Chinese schools.

A large proportion of the Chinese and Malays at the age bracket of 61 years and above do not have any formal education at all.

Very few Malays and Chinese attend English schools. Among the Malays, 2 of them in this category are teachers and the other one is a farmer. The Chinese who receive English education are businessmen.

Table 16 shows that the majority of the Malays and Chinese received primary education only. Only 4 Malays reached Form Five, 2 reached Form Six (i.e. teachers). Among the Chinese there are five of them who reached Form Five.

The heads of households in the community are conscious of their lack of education and the resultant limitation in their achievement in securing well-paid jobs. Such consciousness leads to a great interest in gaining educational opportunities for their children. Such consciousness is very clearly manifested in both the Malay and Chinese household heads.

However, in spite of the general high level of aspiration among the inhabitants for the future education and occupation of the children, there is some difference between what was thought to be appropriate for sons and daughters. The level of aspiration for the daughters was much lower. This shows that the high level of aspiration in terms of children's education is mainly directed towards sons. Many of the Chinese have this attitude - "..... if she can reach University level, then let her continue, but if it is not necessary, a Form Three or Form Five education is good enough to lead her to the hands of professional husbands". They view their daughter's education with the motive of access to better partners.

Among the children of the 50 Malay household heads, only one girl managed to reach University education. The majority of them reached the level of Form One to Form Three. Very few of them reached Form Five. Most of them normally fail at the S.R.P. examination. Among the Chinese children, such pattern is also very clear but the number of Chinese who reach Form Five and University level is relatively more compared to the Malays. There are 4 of them in this survey who have reached the University. The majority are within Form Three to Form Five level.

One difference between the younger generation and the older generation is that, the former normally have the minimum of Form One education and above. The older generation are those who have primary or no education at all.

live with them. There are also cases where the newly married sons or daughters live with their parents for a period of time before they move into their new houses. Those who work in the same village often build their houses near the wife's or husband's parents. Some establish their houses on their own land elsewhere.

However, as for the Chinese, the common type is the extended family i.e. (75%) which consists of an old couple with sons and daughters-in-law. There is a case where five married brothers lived under the same roof. If the old man is still healthy, he would usually be considered the head of the house by the Chinese and Malays.

Children of the Malay families who live with their parents are economically dependent on the latter before marriage. It is considered as obligatory for parents to bring up their children in an Islamic way. As for the Chinese, such parental obligations are also clear. The children are normally brought up in the Buddhist or Taoist beliefs. For most of the Chinese, they are rather untalented in many aspects of

The Family

The common type of family among the Malays is the nuclear family i.e. (80%) which consists of a husband, a wife and a child or children. Sometimes the old father and mother of the married couple live with them. There are also cases where the newly married sons or daughters live with their parents for a period of time before they move into their new homes. Those who work in the same village often build their homes near the wife's or husband's parent. Some establish their houses on their own land elsewhere.

However, as for the Chinese, the common type is the extended family i.e. (75%) which consists of an old couple with sons and daughters-in-law. There is a case where five married brothers lived under the same roof. If the old man is still healthy, he would usually be considered the head of the house by the Chinese and Malays. Children of the Malay families who live with their parents are economically dependent on the latter before marriage. It is considered as obligatory for parents to bring up their children in an Islamic way. As for the Chinese, such parental obligations are also clear. The children are normally brought up in the Buddhist or Taoist beliefs. For most of the Chinese, they are rather untaught in many aspects of

their religions as compared to the well defined teachings of the Muslim faith.

In economic undertakings, both races show a similar pattern. There is a clear division of labour between male and female. Household chores like cooking, washing dishes, etc. are the responsibility of the mother and daughter. A husband is looked at as the breadwinner, the one who would support the family financially. There are, however, exceptions to this where husband and wife work together to make a living.

It is one of the characteristics of the incorporation of village

Kinship into the modern market economy - that a continually increasing number of the individuals' needs must be met through

Kinship is an important base of social associations in the village. It is a status which is acquired at birth and it defines one's social relationships with others. In the case of the Malays, they consider each other as "saudara-mara" (kinsmen). The Chinese, however, view one another as fellow Chinese of similar ethnic origin rather than as kinsmen.

Kinship ties in the village as a whole manifest themselves on several aspects of human relationship. The first aspect is that among members is that of taking. Even this is fast dying off as more and more of the

who are normally related. Outside the nuclear family, kinship ties manifest themselves in order of importance when dealing in economic activities and general welfare. Such voluntary service as "gotong-royong" is required during a feast, marriage and funeral service. For the Chinese, such activities are normally found during funeral service, wedding and economic functions like Chinese Businessmen Association, opening of a new shop, etc.

Degree Of Self-sufficiency Of Peasant Households

It is one of the characteristics of the incorporation of village societies into the modern market economy - that a continually increasing number of the individuals' needs must be met through the market.

All the farmers in Parit Raja grow only cash crops and hence, they have to buy consumer goods. Although most of them practise backyard gardening and raising of poultry, yet they are not sufficient for their consumption.

Villagers do not make their own tools or weave their own mats. These are bought from the shops. The only remaining handicraft in Parit Raja is thatch-making. Even this is fast dying off as more and more of the

villagers build houses using zinc roofs. Among the women, apart from housekeeping, they make clothes with the use of sewing machines. In spite of the general availability of sewing machines in village households, there is an increasing tendency to purchase clothes which are factory produced. Thus the village is only in a physical sense a village.

Household Expenditure

The major portion of household expenditure is directed towards basic consumption.

Savings and Loans

75% indicate that they are able to save. The others are not able to do so mainly because their incomes were not only small in absolute terms but also in relation to household size. Those who are able to save indicate that they save less than \$50 a year. A handful of them save \$200 to \$400 a year.

Savings also occur through the purchase of such items which are durable and valuable. Almost all of them indicate that they had saved in this fashion, and the items purchased included land for house-sites

and agricultural purpose, furniture, television, radio, sewing machines and bicycles. Except for land, which is purchased through cash payments using savings accumulated over a long period, the other items are consumer durables purchased on hire-purchase basis (cash). Most Malays purchase consumer durables in this manner. Very few Chinese purchase consumer durables on hire-purchase basis. The durables are viewed not only as possessions, but they also have the characteristic of savings since in times of need, villagers can sell away these items for cash. At times, when they failed to pay their debts to the Chinese shopkeepers after a long period, the Chinese shopkeepers will just take a few of these items as settlement for the debt.

The Chinese in general save more than the Malays. This is mainly due to their higher income level.

Among those engaged in agriculture, there are two main classes of Chinese. The Chinese in general save more than the Malays. This is mainly due to their higher income level. The Chinese who are in the category of owner-operator are labourer or tenant are those who own the land and are engaged in agricultural holdings. The majority of the Chinese who own land are in the landlord class and their holdings are relatively large, normally 10 acres and above. The Malay landlords also have large holdings but the number of them is very insignificant compared to the Chinese.

Chapter 5

Summary And Conclusion

In this chapter, I will discuss the problem of finding the best possible means of developing land in Parit Raja so that it can give optimum benefits to the country, Malaysia. But, first of all, it is necessary to summarize the main findings in this study.

In Parit Raja, more Malays are found in the agricultural sector than the Chinese. 58% of the Malays are primarily engaged in agriculture as compared to 16% of the Chinese.

Among those engaged in agriculture, there are two main classes of people, namely, the landlords and the farmers. The farmers can be further divided into sub-groups - owner-operator cum labourer or tenant, owner-operator cum landlord and tenants. Those who are in the category of owner-operator cum labourer or tenant are those who own the least land and uneconomical holdings. The majority of the Chinese who own land are in the landlord class and their holdings are relatively large, normally 10 acres and above. The Malay landlords also have large holdings but the number of them is very insignificant compared to the Chinese.

There is another group of people who are not primarily engaged in agriculture. They are the teachers, labourers, lorrydrivers, businessmen, etc. This group of people are those who earn higher incomes than the farmers. The Chinese constitute the highest number in this group.

Most of the land in Parit Raja is owned by the older generation. This feature is particularly found in both the races.

However, the farmers are not without problems. As most of the farmers are Malays, thus the problems enumerated in the following concern them more, and only to a lesser extent the Chinese farmers.

Small Holdings

Some of the farmers own holdings which are too small. These holdings are not economical to operate. As a result, they either supplement their incomes by working in the land of others or as labourers.

Land Fragmentation

Land fragmentation is one problem faced by the Malays. This is not so for the Chinese. It is clear from this study that the majority of the

1) Redistribution of Land-ownership

Redistribution of land-ownership can be considered to be a very drastic but effective method, provided similar actions are taken to rectify the credit facilities and market systems. This action is difficult.

Redistribution of land-ownership is a just course as there is an uneven distribution of land-ownership. By redistribution, it means that the Government buys over the land of the landlords and redistribute it among the farmers. However, this is a very difficult action to carry out. In Malaysia, although the Government has the right to confiscate land according to the Land Acquisition Act, 1960, this step is not taken as such step if taken would lead to political and social upheaval. In addition, this also contradicts the Constitution which provides for rights over personal properties.

2) Land Consolidation

The unchecked fragmentation would finally drive the farmers into tenancy. "Such development could be prevented or at least reduced by the implementation of nation-wide consolidation schemes. Large-scale consolidation, however, will bring result

- 2) only when closely co-ordinated with Government settlement schemes in new areas of cultivation and with the provision of alternative non-agricultural employment opportunities". (3)

Another possible way is the devise of a well-conceived Legislation controlling the sub-division of large holdings. As Malaysia is predominantly Muslim, it is difficult to formulate a Legislation against sub-division since the Koran requires the physical division of any estate among the heirs. The most important modification so far, occur in Kelantan which prohibits sub-division of holdings which are less than a quarter of an acre. (4)

3) Conversion Of Holdings

Another recommendation is the conversion of coffee and coconut holdings to oil-palm holdings. The Malay farmers should be encouraged to convert their holdings. In this matter, they normally go through the re-planting scheme. This process, however, takes a long time. Thus, a more efficient administration is concerned with re-planting schemes and is effected so as to prevent any unnecessary delay.

Theoretically, the Federation has the right to pass a land legislation in order to have a common land policy and common

3) land administration. In practice, land remains the prerogative of the States. Hence, it is difficult to have a homogeneous land policy and administration in Malaysia. Hence, land codes vary from State to State.

The unlimited authority of the State in land matters has unfavourable effects on land development and land policy. The policy of the rulers depend on the consent of their State Councils. The members of the State Councils are generally opposed to an extension of federal authority in their respective States.

Tenancy is not much of a problem in Parit Raja. Tenancy is found mainly in the rubber holdings. The landlords in Parit Raja are normally the Chinese. The landlord-tenant relationship is very commercialized. The system employed by the Chinese is contract system. The tenants are paid in terms of percentage. In addition, the landlords normally provide credit to the tenants in times of hardship and wedding, etc.

Insufficient institutional credit in the rural area necessitates the services of the middlemen. In varying degrees, all small holders in Malaysia are facing this problem. They borrow from the middlemen in times of hardship. The middlemen normally lend on the condition

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